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valuable as it is, rather raw material for the study of Jewish finance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than an adequate treatment of it. We still want work more analogous to Ehrenburg's *Zeitalter der Fugger*, which, while giving details, will also give the general tendencies upon which these details throw light.

## JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui. By L. HERSCH. Paris: GIARD and BRIÈRE, 1913. pp. 333.

Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden. By Wlad. Kaplun-Kogan, Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1913. pp. 164.

Jewish Immigration to the United States. By SAMUEL JOSEPH. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1914. pp. 206.

During the past fifteen years or so the Commissioner-General of Immigration has been publishing reports in which the race and provenance of the immigrants are duly rubricated, and the 'Hebrews' thus entering the United States are accordingly classified according to numbers, countries they come from, literacy, sex, ages, civil condition, destination, occupations, and the amount of money with which they are provided. By a curious coincidence, during the past year, three sociological inquirers, Swiss, German, and American, have brought together and analysed the information contained in these reports with regard to Jewish immigration in the United States, on which we have at last full and authentic information for at least the years 1899–1914.

All three inquirers deal not alone with the immigrants on their arrival in this country, but also with their condition in their countries of origin. But Dr. Joseph deals with the subject historically, Drs. Hersch and Kaplun-Kogan more statistically, and therefore more in the general line of the rest of their investigations. One cannot help thinking that Dr. Joseph has wasted a good deal of time in giving his history of the political condition of Eastern Europe in regard to the Jews, which might almost

have been taken as fairly well known by most persons interested in the subject. Similarly, Dr. Kaplun-Kogan has dealt with the *Wanderjahre* of the Jewish people from Abraham downwards in the first sixty pages of his book. Here again it was impossible to deal with so large a subject with any originality or thoroughness.

There is another reason why the use of Russian figures about occupations and the like is scarcely worth while. invariably taken from the Enquête made by the International Colonization Association in 1897, the year of the first Russian census of the Jews of any scientific value. Now, though it is probable that economic conditions have not greatly changed in the Pale of Settlement during the intervening seventeen years, there is no doubt that they have changed to some extent, and it is therefore precarious to apply results derived from 1897 to explain social phenomena of ten or fifteen years later. Take a single instance; practically one-third of the Russian Jews investigated in 1897 were engaged in commerce, whereas the proportion of merchants and dealers that come over to this country is only five per cent. There is indeed a problem, but there are no available data for solution. Dr. Joseph wisely omitted this branch of the subject from his purview, and from certain points of view his book has gained thereby. M. Hersch has devoted most of his attention to attempting to ascertain the economic and other causes which, in Russia especially, led to the migration of the Jews, but, elaborate as his analysis is, it cannot be said to be really convincing owing to the complexity of the phenomena. No doubt the cause of the New Exodus is largely political, and can be definitely traced to the religious persecutions of the Jews. But at the same time there is a purely economic element dependent on the business conditions in Russia and America, and this varies from trade to trade and from occupation to occupation. As the figures of the Commissioner-General do not distinguish between 'Russian' and 'other' Hebrews, it is practically impossible statistically to investigate the concomitant variations on both sides of the Atlantic which would enable us to show that every phenomenon in the Russian Jewish market would be followed by such or such a phase in the Russian Jewish market in the United States.

Dismissing therefore those sides of these works which seem either irrelevant or inadequate, we may confine our attention to their common element, the analysis which they give of the information contained in the reports of the Commissioner-General for Immigration. M. Hersch practically confined himself to these figures; both Dr. Kaplun-Kogan and Dr. Joseph deal as well with the unofficial figures of the years 1881-1898. Unfortunately Dr. Kaplun-Kogan has been misled by the article 'Migration' in the Jewish Encyclopaedia into including all Russians coming to this country between 1881 and 1898 as being exclusively Russian Jews. Both M. Hersch and Dr. Joseph point out this unfortunate error in the Jewish Encyclopaedia, and the former in consequence despairs of obtaining any reliable information about the earlier years, and confines his attention to the period 1898-1910, for which the elaborate reports of the Commissioner-General are available. Dr. Joseph, on the other hand, has utilized the returns of various Jewish societies at New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore for the period 1881-1898, and by ingenious manipulation of these has gotten reasonably near the probable figures. His tables therefore may be regarded as the only complete ones in existence, and though he comes late into the field, his book for this reason is for statistical purposes the most valuable of the three.

All three inquirers are at one in recognizing that the Jewish immigration differs essentially from the other sections of the more recent additions to America's inhabitants. Jewish immigrants have a larger percentage of women and married folk generally. They have less illiteracy, and return in less numbers to their countries of origin; in short, they migrate by family, and come to stay. In this they resemble the older immigration which built up this great nation. Strangely enough, not one of the three investigators have cared to bring the further evidence as to characteristics of Jews compared to other immigration which could have been developed from the elaborate report in forty-

three volumes by the Immigration Commission. This is probably wise forbearance, since in the majority of cases the absolute numbers on which the statistical tables of the Commission are based (they have been analysed or rather repeated by Professor Jenks and Mr. Lauck) are often so small that no trustworthy conclusions are to be drawn from them. To give a single example, the weekly wages of males under eighteen were derived by the Immigration Commissioners from one hundred and thirty Russian and thirty-five other Jews. The affiliation with trade unions, which really run into hundreds of thousands, are made into percentages derived from one hundred and sixty-three Russian Jews; the number of naturalizations investigated was only four hundred, and three of Jews other than Russians. The value of percentages derived from such figures is absolutely nil.

Dr. Joseph's work, though the most complete, is not above the possibility of improvement. As I have said, he manipulates the figures relating to the immigration before 1898 ingeniously and fairly convincingly, but in such a case it is always desirable to have before us the figures thus manipulated, which Dr. Joseph has failed to give. It would not have been difficult to have given the original figures from which tables II and IV have been compiled, and for a particular reason it would have been especially desirable to have continued these original figures derived from the Jewish inquirers down to the present day. For if Dr. Joseph had done so he would have found that the figures for immigration contained in each year of the American Jewish Year Book for so many years were nearly one-fifth less than those given in the government returns from 1899 onwards. The obvious conclusion is that if we had had government figures for the earlier years they would also have to be increased twenty per cent., which would probably add another hundred and twenty thousand to the number. At any rate, this discrepancy ought to have been observed and investigated.

The arrangement of Dr. Joseph's tables, full and elaborate as they are, are occasionally susceptible to improvement. He has a habit, as in tables XVIII, XXII, XXIX, of giving the percentage of each year with reference to the total immigration concerned. It is difficult to see of what use this can be, especially as the moment the numbers of succeeding years are added, all these percentages will have to be changed. (By the way, the heading of table XXII seems to be entirely misleading, the per cent. as not of the per cent. arriving each year, but of the total arriving 1881–1910.) This reminds me to remark that almost all Dr. Joseph's tables finish with the fiscal year 1910. It is true that this had the advantage of being a census year, but as Dr. Joseph's book appeared this year it would have been easy to have added three more years and made the tables so much the more complete.

As a further comment on the methodology of the book, I would remark that Dr. Joseph has the habit of giving summaries in separate tables, instead of combining them with the series of tables. Table XXIII might easily have been inserted in the appropriate position of table XXII, with an advantage both to clearness and conciseness. One of the difficulties of an investigation that employs figures is to get a convenient *coup d'wil* of them, and it is as much the duty of a statistician to facilitate the use of the figures he has collected, by summarizing, as it is of the writer of a book to give a good table of contents.

But I should be sorry to leave Dr. Joseph in any grudging or unappreciative spirit. He has brought together, practically for the first time, almost all the available and relevant figures bearing upon Jewish immigration to the United States during the past thirty years. He has drawn from them most of the inferences and induction which they can well bear; he has brought out with clearness the different character of the New Exodus as a real transference of hard-working families from Russia, Galicia, and Roumania to these favoured climes. Above all, he has redeemed the good name of American Jews from the reproach of having permitted European inquirers to summarize available statistical material relating to Jewish immigration into America which ought long ere this to have been made accessible to us.

JOSEPH JACOBS.